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ABSTRACT

The stated purposes of this paper are to: (1) consider selected causal explanations of the problem of low educational attainment among low income non-white populations in a highly complex industrialized society; (2) examine alternative strategies of intervention; and, (3) construct a model as a tool for continued analysis of the problem. It is held that emphasis on inherited intelligence suggests such intervention strategies as grouping students by IQ and tailoring instruction to individual students. The "culture of poverty" approach stresses changing the sub-culture. It is asserted that school critics would argue for a strategy that would: (1) radically revise the instructional and administrative operation of the school; (2) eliminate compensatory type programs as mere "add to" methods; (3) decentralize school systems; (4) require teacher sensitivity training programs; (5) develop "schools without walls"; and, (6) have local black school Boards hire teachers. Intervention strategies are discussed which would emphasize the need for: (1) increasing economic and social opportunities; (2) reforming institutional arrangements; and, (3) using black ghetto populations in self-help efforts. The final section of the paper focuses on the selected causal explanations for the change strategies into models. (Author/JM)

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TITLE: LOW EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AMONG LOW INCOME NON-WHITE POPULATIONS IN URBAN CENTERS

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LOW EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AMONG LOW INCOME NON-WHITE POPULATIONS IN URBAN CENTERS

Statement of the Problem

The profound problems associated with educating the urban poor and the large masses of disenfranchised black ghetto populations exploded on the national scene approximately a decade ago. It followed on the heels of the Sputnik era when much of the educational research, training, and demonstration was dedicated to the principle of excellence in the schools for an elite population of youth capable of maximizing its teaching-learning environment. The future, it was felt, would depend upon a generation of youth equipped to contribute toward scientific and technological progress as part of the United States' national defense effort and international race for scientific advancement.

A dramatic shift occurred, however, in the mid-1960's when it became patently clear that at the same time that the schools were nourishing a cadre of elite youth who embodied the nation's cherished cultural, social, and intellectual values, it was failing a large segment of its lower income urban youth who were rejecting these same nation's ideals and who were ill-equipped to enter the mainstream of American life. The full measure of that failure was made evident in 1966 with the U. S. Office of Education's exhaustive study on equality of educational opportunity.[1] The study, conducted in response to

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[1] U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1966, page 20.

Section 402 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, provided the following indicators of educational achievement among non-white populations in the public schools as measured by standardized achievement tests:

TABLE I

Nationwide Median Test Scores for First and Twelfth-Grade Pupils[2]

Test	Racial or Ethnic Group					
	Puerto Ricans	Indian-Amer.	Mexican Amer.	Oriental Amer.	Negro	Majority
First Grade:						
Nonverbal	45.8	53.0	50.1	56.6	43.4	54.1
Verbal	44.9	47.8	46.5	51.6	45.4	53.2
Twelfth Grade:						
Nonverbal	43.3	47.1	45.0	51.6	40.9	52.0
Verbal	43.1	43.7	43.8	49.6	40.9	52.1
Reading	42.6	44.3	44.2	48.8	42.2	51.9
Mathematics	43.7	45.9	45.5	51.3	41.8	51.8
General Information	41.7	44.7	43.3	49.0	40.6	52.2
Average of the 5 tests	43.1	45.1	44.4	50.1	41.1	52.0

Table I made clear that there was a deficiency in achievement among low income minority populations on standardized tests of performance and that the degree of deficiency tended to increase at progressively higher grade levels in school. In addition, the report emphasized: "For most minority groups, and most particularly the Negro, schools provide no opportunity at all for them to overcome this initial deficiency; in fact, they fall further behind the white majority in the development of several skills which are critical to making a living and participating

[2]Ibid, p. 1.

fully in modern society."[3]

The educational gap perceived between the major population and the Black ethnic minority during the elementary and secondary school years (see Table I) tends to progress uninterrupted into the area of higher education. A 1960-69 comparison of the percentages of Negroes and Whites between the ages of 25 and 34 years of age who had completed college revealed the following predictable results:

Percent of Population 25 to 34 years old who Completed 4 years of College or More, by Sex, 1960, 1966, and 1969[4]

	Negro			White		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1960	4.3	3.9	4.6	11.7	15.7	7.8
1966	5.7	5.2	6.1	14.6	18.9	10.4
1969	6.6	7.6	5.6	16.2	20.2	12.3

(Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census)

The latest 1969 figures indicate that the total white population completing school averaged 16%, or more than two and a half times that of the black population. Thus, it is not surprising that as we approach the 1970's, the comments of Edgar Z. Friedenberg, educator and lecturer, reaffirm the continuing failure of the school to bring about a change in the traditions of educating its youth. In a recent New York Times book review, he asserted that "within the past few years the urban schools have been failing to achieve even their own norms in teaching

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[3]Ibid, p. 28.

[4]American Council on Education, Higher Education and National Affairs, 1969, Vol. XIX, no. 6, p. 4.

lower status, and especially black pupils, the basic skills middle class pupils learn in schools. Such pupils characteristically fall further and further behind normal achievement levels for their age, may never learn to read, and make on the average lower and lower IQ scores as they progress--if progress it be--through schools."[5] Dr. Carl J. Dolce corroborated Friedenberg's point of view in an article on the Inner City Schools for the Saturday Review of Literature when he stated that education in the ghetto has failed to come to grips with the problems of low educational attainment.[6]

These arguments appear to be consistent with the general pattern of findings among the states having large concentrations of urban poor. A recent Office of Education analysis of the correlation between poverty and numbers of dropouts revealed the following information on the six most populated states:

TABLE II[7]

States	Students not graduating, 1965-66 (difference between 10th grade and graduating class)	Rank	Total Poor	Rank	Urban Poor	Rank
New York	45,905	(51)	2,319,400	(50)	1,922,900	(50)
California	21,479	(44)	2,199,400	(49)	1,812,300	(49)
Pennsylvania	27,130	(48)	1,880,500	(48)	1,234,000	(48)
Illinois	30,919	(49)	1,446,000	(44)	1,033,100	(47)
Ohio	24,200	(47)	1,508.500	(46)	994,600	(46)
Texas	40,709	(50)	2,970,300	(51)	1,981,400	(51)

[5]Edgar Z. Friedenberg, "New York Times Book Review," September 14, 1969, Section 7, p. 35.

[6]Carl J. Dolce, "The Inner City--A Superintendent's View," Saturday Review of Literature, September - January, 1969, p. 36.

[7]U. S. Office of Education, Office of Programs for the Disadvantaged, A State Profile on School Dropouts, Juvenile Delinquents, Unemployed Youth, and Related Federal Programs, Fiscal Year, 1966, page 3.

This Table makes evident that the two states with the largest number of non-graduating students, i.e., New York and Texas, also contained the largest number of total poor and urban poor populations. One might then question: "Are the non-white among the Urban Poor?" According to Herman Miller, Special Assistant of the Bureau of Census, "...the 1960 Census revealed that there were one million non-white families (over 90% Negroes) living in or near large cities and that on all levels--housing, education, occupation, and income--the Negro ranked among the poorest of the poor."[8] Further evidence is provided in a U. S. Office of Education report on Profiles in Fifty Major American Cities in which the high proportion on non-white families living in the central cities is documented

TABLE III[9]

Metropolitan Area	Non-White Families Percent in the Central City
Milwaukee	99.0
Cleveland	97.5
San Antonio	96.6
Chicago	92.3
New York	90.6

	Non-White Families		
Metro. Area	Percent/Central City	Percent/Poverty Area	Percent below Poverty Level
Milwaukee	99.0	83.3	30.4
Chicago	92.3	75.7	29.3
New York	90.6	71.1	25.6
Cleveland	97.5	73.2	27.8
Washington	86.3	61.3	26.0
St. Louis	72.6	86.9	42.1
Buffalo	84.2	78.7	34.3
Baltimore	87.8	77.1	35.3
New Orleans	88.1	92.6	51.1
Boston	80.0	69.2	28.4
Philadelphia	79.8	71.5	30.7

[8]Miller, Herman P., Rich Man, Poor Man, The New American Library: New York, 1964, page 96.

[9]U. S. Office of Education, Profiles in Fifty Major American Cities, May, 1968, page 4.

Time series data on non-white populations assembled by O. D. Duncan from periodic Census Bureau reports, provides supplementary data on the educational status of non-whites over time. (See Table IV below)[10]

TABLE IV

Period:		1948-50	1951-53	1954-56	1957-59	1960-62	1963-65
School Enrollment percent of Males 14-17	(non-white)	70.7	75.5	83.1	86.2	88.8	92.4
	(white)	84.5	87.2	89.6	91.7	92.9	94.6
Percent High School Graduates Male Labor Force	(non-white)	(NA)	15.1	(NA)	21.7	27.3	32.3
	(white)	(NA)	42.1	(NA)	49.4	53.5	56.0

The above data makes the disparity between the white and non-white quite clear although it offers some hopeful indicators of a decreasing difference.

The most recent evidence on the status of Negroes was made public in a March 1, 1970 New York Times article concerned with the text of Moynihan's memorandum to President Nixon on the status of Negroes. Moynihan presented a general assessment of the position of Negroes after a decade in which their plight has been the central domestic political issue. The extracted quantitative educational assessment produced the following hopeful indicators:

"1. In 1968, 19 percent of the Negro children 3 and 4 years old were enrolled in school compared to 15% of the white children.

2. Forty-five percent of Negroes 18 and 19 years old were in school--almost the equal of the white proportion of 51 percent.

[10]Gross, Bertram M., Social Intelligence for America's Future, Allyn, Bacon, Inc., Boston, 1969, page 389.

3. Negro college enrollment rose 85 percent between 1964-68 by which time there were 434,000 Negro college students."

Moynihan cautioned, however, that the educational achievement should not be exaggerated since only 16 percent of Negro high school seniors have verbal test scores at or above grade level.[11]

Clearly the problem of low educational attainment among low income non-white populations in a highly complex industrialized society continues to be one of the major dilemmas of our times. The purpose of this paper will be to (a) consider selected causal explanations of the problem, (b) examine alternative strategies of intervention, and (c) construct a model as a tool for continued analysis of the problem.

Selected Causal Explanations of the Problem

Inherited Factors:

Arthur R. Jensen, noted educational psychologist at the University of California, inadvertently reaped a storm of controversy among social scientists when he cited inherited factors as a causal explanation of non-white low educational attainment. In the process of analyzing data that is available on the relation ship between educational attainment and cultural deprivation among Negro populations, Jensen concluded that no amount of compensatory education could alter the inherited constellation of factors contained in a measure of the IQ or abstract reasoning. His arguments were based upon the following evidence obtained from a study of approximately 400 major studies:

[11] New York Times, Sunday, March 1, 1970, "Text of the Moynihan Memorandum on the Status of Negroes."

1. In the standard distribution of IQ, throughout the population, the Negro is 15 points lower than the white.
2. Only 3% of the Negro population exceed an IQ of 115; in the white population, 16% exceed 115.
3. In the white population, 1% exceed 140; a sixth of that exceed 140 in the Negro population.

Jensen refutes environmental interpretations of the above data and substitutes a genetic theory as an explanation of the identified discrepancies in IQ. While Jensen concurs that enriched environments can boost the IQ, he claims that the ceiling on genetic potential of the IQ will rapidly be attained and will probably progress no further than an average IQ. He takes the firm position that "...there are intelligence genes, which are found in populations in different proportions, somewhat like the distribution of blood types. The number of genes seems to be lower, overall, in the black population than in the white."[12] In a paper published by the National Academy of Sciences, Jensen expressed the viewpoint that approximately 20% of the IQ potential could be attributed to environment.

Jensen's theory of inherited as opposed to acquired intelligence suggests a strategy for change that is distinctly different from those of other social scientists. The intervention strategies that flow from this kind of causal explanation suggest:

1. Homogeneous groupings of students based upon demonstrated IQ potential.
2. Individual programming organized around perceptual and learning capabilities in concert with factors such as motivation and goal orientation.
3. Integration of blacks and whites in the learning process only to the degree that they share a common potential for achievement.

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[12] Arthur R. Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost IQ and School Achievement?" New York Times, August 31, 1969, pages 10-15.

The above analysis of causal factors would suggest that the school bears no responsibility for educational screening devices that result in separation of students along occupational and social class lines. In fact, such isolation along racial lines would be viewed as an inevitable consequence of classification according to academic achievement. Jensen's theory further suggests that since the constellation of factors that constitute IQ is not the whole of the learning experience, some children from lower socio-economic groupings and non-white populations will filter into more able student groups and will create the desired social and racial mix. However, he would clearly argue against arbitrary measures to bring about integrated classes for an optimum learning environment as part of a strategy for change.

Culture of Poverty:

A more commonly proposed causal explanation of the problem is that a culture of poverty exists in the non-white ghetto area that perpetuates an anti-intellectual life style and results in poor performance on culture bound standardized tests of educational attainment. The major emphasis of this viewpoint is upon the social-psychological factors that prevail in the urban slum and represent radical departures from the major middle class culture. The life style of the poor non-white is often characterized as a sub-culture in which: (a) there is limited verbal communication (b) low self-esteem, (c) immediate gratification of need, and (d) emphasis on the concrete as opposed to the abstract. Authorities such as Arthur Passow, Frank Reissman, and Stanley Kravitz (with whom the writer worked in 1963-64 on the Mayor's Commission for Youth in Syracuse, New York) testified to these characteristics and pointed to the matriarchal role of the Negro

female, the alienation of non-whites from the mainstream of society, the lack of opportunity for social and economic mobility, and the prevalence of reward for anti-social role models in the ghetto as possible explanations of these identified characteristics.

Dr. Carl Dolce, an inner-city superintendent of schools, also regards the socio-psychological factors in the environment as a major causal factor for inadequate academic performance. He alludes to feelings of frustration and powerlessness in his discussion of the urban ghetto. "...Their lack of alternatives tends to create feelings of entrapment and powerlessness. For most, the modern day ghetto is not open-ended; rather it is closed and restrictive." Ghetto areas, he concludes, particularly black ghetto areas, are "occupied by people who have a heritage of deprivation, frustration, maltreatment, and discrimination, and this heritage has a profound impact on their lives."[13]

One of the first treatments of the culture of poverty as a causal explanation was developed by Frank Reisman in his work, The Culturally Deprived Child, and provided the basis for much that followed related to theories of cultural deprivation. The advocates of this theory stress the inadequate preparation of the child from the ghetto environment for the major middle class culture that is fundamentally different from the poverty sub-culture. Proponents of this viewpoint would argue that the schools tend to reward the normative value system of the dominant culture and reject even those strengths that may be visible in the sub-culture value system. Strategies of intervention that flow from this kind of

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[13] Carl J. Dolce, "The Inner City--A Superintendent's View," Saturday Review of Literature, January 11, 1969, page 36.

analysis would stress substantial modification of the sub-culture in order to minimize differences that polarize the major culture from the sub-culture. Illustrative strategies would include:

(a) Creative local programs designed to provide Black male role models in the community that conform to the value system of the dominant culture.

(b) A guaranteed minimum wage that enables each individual in the ghetto to achieve a standard of living commensurate with the major population.

(c) Employment programs for Black males that are designed to build the male image and provide increased self-esteem.

(d) Language programs that are designed to assist in eliminating distinguishable sub-culture dialects.

(e) Housing patterns that promote a sense of community cohesion.

The thrust of the above strategies would be to significantly alter the environment to conform to the normative value system of the dominant culture.

School:

Some theorists regard the institutional hierarchy of the school as the dominant factor in accounting for low educational attainment and high dropout rates among Black populations. Advocates of this viewpoint tend to stress the need for fundamental structural revision of the school as an institution in order to accommodate to minority populations. (Dr. Mario Fantini, Ford Foundation Program Consultant, with whom the writer worked in developing an educational program for low income non-white populations in Syracuse, New York, argued that school is equally unsuitable for the middle class white individual.)

Paul Goodman, noted educational strategist for change, takes the strong stance that the middle class school is obsolete in terms of the felt needs of the lower income population. He argues that it is not only inadequate for their purposes but is obsessional, prejudiced, and prudish.[14] He proposes a number of fundamental changes. Among these would be the elimination of compulsory education that he regards as a "universal trap," dispensing with the school building for selected periods during the day, utilizing the city as an environment for learning, having no school at all for a few classes, and decentralizing the school system into units comprised of store fronts and club houses.

The most recent manifestation of a proposal for change, based upon the notion that the school is the preeminent causal explanation of the non-white's failure to perform, is the community control and decentralization program. The advocates of community control maintain that the white power structure manipulates the school system to sustain its own vested interests, thus damaging the psyche and learning capabilities of the Black. In their view, the school functions as a "top-down" organizational structure in which the priority values of the "straight" society prevail when value systems come into conflict. Integral to this position is the belief that local autonomy will enable the schools to become responsive to the Black urban client population.

A number of personalized accounts of the school's failure to adapt to the needs of Black populations have recently penetrated the market and reinforce the above theoretical position. One of the most poignant of these is Death at an Early Age by Jonathan Kozol. He presents a dramatic personal account of the

[14]Paul Goodman, Compulsory Mis-Education and the Community of Scholars, New York: Vintage Books, 1964, page 21.

methods and techniques commonly though often unconsciously utilized by the schools to undermine the hearts and minds of the Black people. Another such book is John Holt's How Children Learn. In a review of this book in the New York Times, it was stated "...Holt's theory is full-blown: children naturally know how to learn; schools (out of chauvinism and a vaguely disguised irritable antipathy to children) destroy their natural methodology and their self-confidence, substituting an artificial thinking that does not work along with adult bullying or internecine competition. In fact, Holt maintains that the schools destroy children unless the children are extraordinarily tough and adroit."[15]

Interventionists who regard the schools as the major force behind the failure of children both white and non-white would argue for a strategy that would:

1. Radically revise the instructional and administrative operation of the school.
2. Eliminate compensatory type programs as mere "add to" methods that perpetuate a syndrome of poor self-esteem, failure, and dropout.
3. Decentralize the existing school system as one approach toward more viable administrative structure.
4. Require teacher training programs to "sensitize" teachers to the needs of Black students.
5. Approve recent Ford Foundation supported efforts to develop schools without walls and to create local Black Boards to screen and approve teachers for the school system.

[15] New York Times, Book Review Section, "How Children Learn," December, 1968, page 15.

Intervention Programs:

Mobilization for Youth - Mobilization for Youth, conceived and developed in the early 1960's, was once of the early community action type intervention programs aimed at bringing about comprehensive change in the urban ghetto. The program, A Proposal for the Prevention and Control of Delinquency by Expanding Opportunities, was developed by a team composed of representatives of agencies and institutions on the lower east side of New York City, and persons recommended by the New York School of Social Work of Columbia University. The professional leadership for the program was provided in great measure by Richard A. Cloward, Director of Research; and George A. Brager, Director of Action Programs. The guiding philosophy for the action model, developed by Mobilization for Youth, was based upon the Drs. Cloward and Ohlin's thesis that "...the kind of opportunity structure in which young people find themselves is the central condition determining their behavior, either conforming or deviant."[16] The aim of the program was to offer a broad and diverse program of action and research for a selected target population in an urban residential area of New York City in order to determine whether expanding available opportunities for youth and their families would assist them in developing greater competence to cope with emerging problems.

The educational component of the Mobilization for Youth Project, much like the employment and community services program, was devoted to expanding the objective opportunities for conformity. In analyzing the problem of low educa-

16 A Proposal for the Prevention and Control of Delinquency by Expanding Opportunities, Mobilization for Youth, Inc., December 9, 1961.

tional attainment, the authors maintained: "The problem of self-defeating adaptations is nowhere more striking than in the failure of many low income youth to develop academic skills...One of the major sources of school failure among low income youth is, we believe, their belief that there is little relationship between academic achievement and future occupational rewards."[17] They argued that it would be virtually impossible to sustain high levels of educational attainment in racial groups where the young see no relationship between performance and the realities of their future.

The thrust of the "World of Education Program" that was ultimately developed dealt primarily with the school as the focus for change. In order to maximize the access of lower income youth to the means of attaining socially approved goals, the action program encompassed three major objectives: increasing the school's responsiveness to lower class life styles, improving the potential of parents as learning models, and enriching the learning environment. The school programs included teacher training, curriculum improvement, parent-school relations, pre-school and elementary school programs, and guidance services.

The impact of the Mobilization for Youth Program Change Model cannot be minimized. It served as a prototype for the umbrella type community action programs that followed under President Kennedy's Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Legislation that followed in 1963. In addition, Daniel P. Moynihan makes the observation that the striking quality of the Mobilization for Youth

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[17]Ibid, page 54.

project was the degree to which it corresponded to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Moynihan, in his book Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, analyzes each of the Mobilization for Youth programs and juxtaposes them against each of the titles of the Economic Opportunity Act to illustrate the Act's resemblance to both the structure and detail of the Mobilization for Youth program. Furthermore, he feels that the name itself, Economic Opportunity Act, was a result of the suffusion of the expanding opportunity concept into the Washington scene. Moynihan presents the view that the significant contribution of the Mobilization for Youth program was its "decisive theory of social action."[18] It offered a vigorous approach to change along with alternatives for action that departed radically from former sterile efforts of the Children's Bureau to propose strategies for change.

Syracuse Mayors Commission for Youth - The President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime provided the impetus for the creation of the Mayor's Commission for Youth in Syracuse, New York. It was formed under the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act in 1963 as a demonstration center for training projects in effective ways of mobilizing local community resources to combat juvenile delinquency. The major task of the Mayor's Commission for Youth was to define the local community problem, formulate a conceptual base for the problem identified, and finally, to develop a program to deal with the problem.

The Mayor's Commission for Youth organized a change strategy that

[18]Daniel P. Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, New York: The Free Press, 1969, page 46.

focused on five areas: education, employment, group services, individual and family services, and community development. (The writer was hired as the education planning staff member to develop the educational action plan for the inner-city school system of Syracuse in concert with leading local, state, and national education and social agency representatives.) The overall plan of attack was not unlike that of Mobilization for Youth. Indeed, the concepts of opportunity and competence were integral to the undergirding philosophy. Here, too, the emphasis was on the reordering of institutional arrangements in order to effect needed changes. The analysis emphasized the interrelatedness of delinquency, poverty, unemployment, and dropouts; their relationship to racial factors, and most importantly to the Blacks. Since the research data gathered for the Syracuse project suggested differential vulnerability factors among lower income youth, the plan of attack that achieved consensus was one in which there would be multiple action plans designed to (a) intervene in systems that equip youth with skills or assume adult roles and (b) systems that change aspects of the experience world that would lead to strengthening of controls.

The educational plan that was developed stressed the role of the school as the focal point for intervention and stated, "the school's emphasis on verbal fluency, its reliance upon vicarious learning and age-graded norms, as well as its expectations for academic performance have proved unrealistic for large numbers of lower class youths. Thus, the schools have served primarily as a vehicle to socialize and to insure the mobility of large numbers of middle and upper income young people without performing that same service for all their counterparts in less advantaged classes."[19] In an effort to close this educational

[19]Mayor's Commission for Youth, Syracuse Action Program for Disadvantaged Youth, 1964.

gap, programs were developed in six areas: teacher training, reading and language skills, curriculum and curriculum materials, guidance, school and community, and work and education.

The Syracuse program along with 15 other community action programs throughout the United States that were created under the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control legislation relied heavily on the Mobilization for Youth intervention programs and paved the way for the anti-poverty program that followed under the Johnson administration. In fact, Moynihan claims that the Community Action Program committees formed under the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Act served as the prototype for the Anti-Poverty Community Action Committees of 1965.

Both the Mobilization for Youth and the Syracuse Mayor's Commission for Youth Programs were selected for discussion because they speak so directly to the issue of educational change as part of a comprehensive strategy for urban low income youth (among which is found a disproportionate large share of black people). Both are interesting in that they (a) served vigorously to influence social policy at the national level, (b) had an impact on the local level both from a short and long range point of view, and (c) were among the first intervention strategies to attempt a systems approach involving the economic, political, educational, and social institutions at the local level, and (d) created a working partnership that merged public and private sectors in attempting solutions to the problem. These were some of the positive outcomes of these intervention efforts; however, one would be remiss to avoid discussion of some of the negative factors that were perceived. Among these would be accelerated antagonisms

among Blacks and Whites as they strained to arrive at areas of agreement, poorly planned and conceived programs with little genuine involvement of the community, increased polarization within the political structure as Community Action Program agencies became identified as partisan groups, and power stresses that disoriented the existing delicately balanced power systems.

Economic Opportunity Act - As stated earlier, the Crusade Against Poverty was derived in large part from the preceeding programs organized under the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act. Its emphasis on the mobilization of local resources, coordination, and integration under the aegis of a community action agency, and its stress upon expanding opportunities for lower income populations closely resembled earlier models of intervention. It departed from former strategies, however, in its strong emphasis on the involvement of indigenous populations in self-help efforts to bring about change. It was expected that the mobilization of the inarticulate poor would lead to a massive assault on the root causes of poverty. The designers of the legislation sought maximum feasible participation of the poor, involvement of the lower income citizens in all levels of program design and implementation and endorsement from a governing body in order to legitimize the function of ethnic minorities who normally operated on the periphery of the governmental process.

Educational intervention programs such as Head Start, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Job Corps, Work Study, and Upward Bound were created as part of this massive legislation in order to intercept the cycle of low income, poor self-esteem and inadequate educational performance. Implicit to the notion of

improved educational performance was the concept of integration of racial and ethnic minorities into the major population. In reality, these programs were "add to" methods that did little to fundamentally alter the character of the educational institution as part of the change strategy. They did, however, provide a direction and focus for the compensatory efforts within the schools. Also, in retrospect, it could be argued that the stage was being set for the poor Black's self-assertion through such highly visible tactics as Black militarism, confrontation, and Black separatism, (a concept vehemently rejected just a few short years ago). Perhaps, the faltering and uncertain experiments with power during the Crusade Against Poverty provided the indigenous population with the basic skills for their subsequent strike against autonomy of the centralized school boards in New York City. Martin Rein presents the most cogent and thoughtful analysis of the impact of the Community Action Agencies under the Economic Opportunity Act in his article, "Community Action Programs: A Critical Reassessment." In it he conjectures that implicit to the strategy was the conviction that the existing bureaucracies were dysfunctional.[20] This conviction coupled with the frustration that continued to mount as educational programs failed to accomplish the desired ends may help to explain the emergence of other more volatile change strategies that have since become pervasive. Examined in the light of the massive educational problems to be solved among the Black ghetto poor, one would be hard put to herald its accomplishments. However, viewed in larger social and historical context, its effect upon the Black ghetto population was profound indeed. It ushered in an era in which (a) Black became

[20] Martin Rein, "Community Action Program: A Critical Reassessment," PHRA--Poverty and Human Resources Abstracts, Vol. III, No. 3, May-June, 1968, page 5.

beautiful as part of a struggle toward an ethnic identity, (b) the Blacks emerged as an organized pressure group, and (c) a press for equal educational opportunities began to truly threaten the existing educational establishment according to uniquely Black priorities that diverged radically from valued educational goals and objectives.

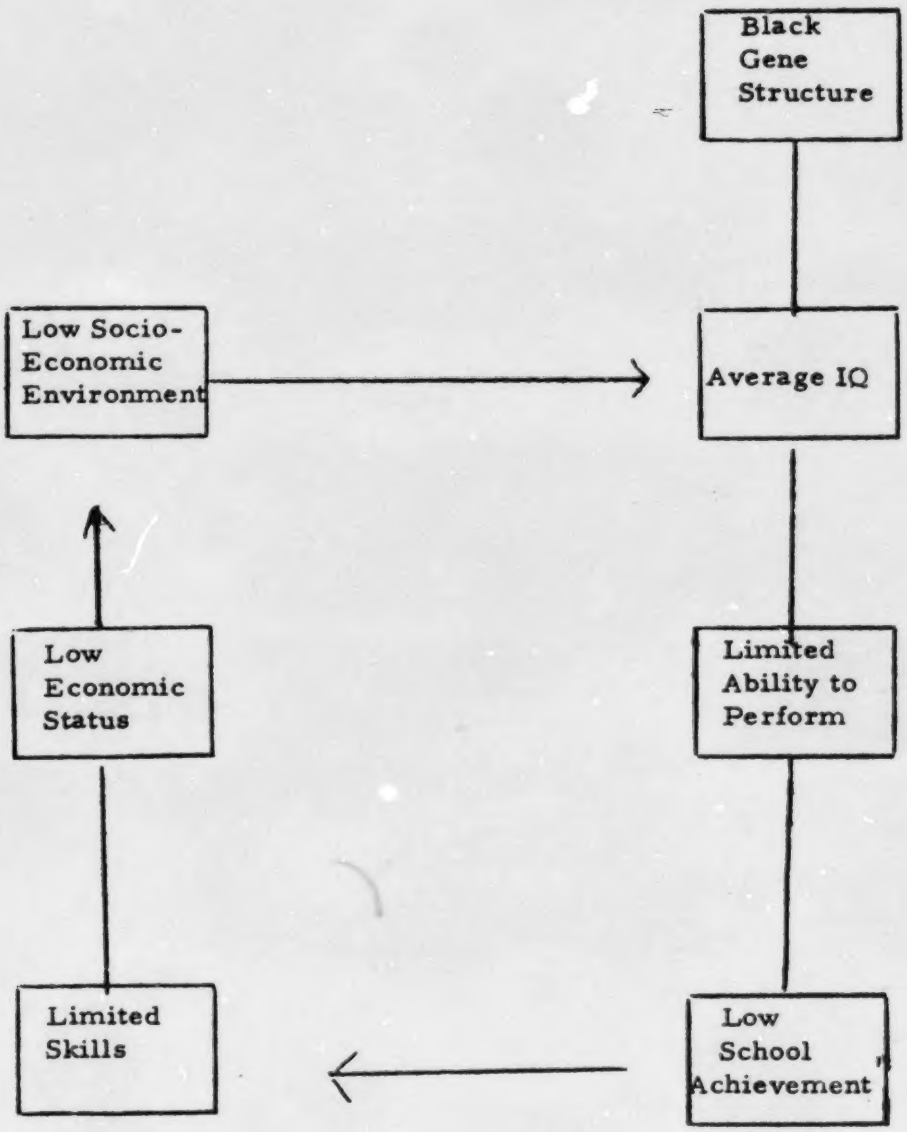
Change Model:

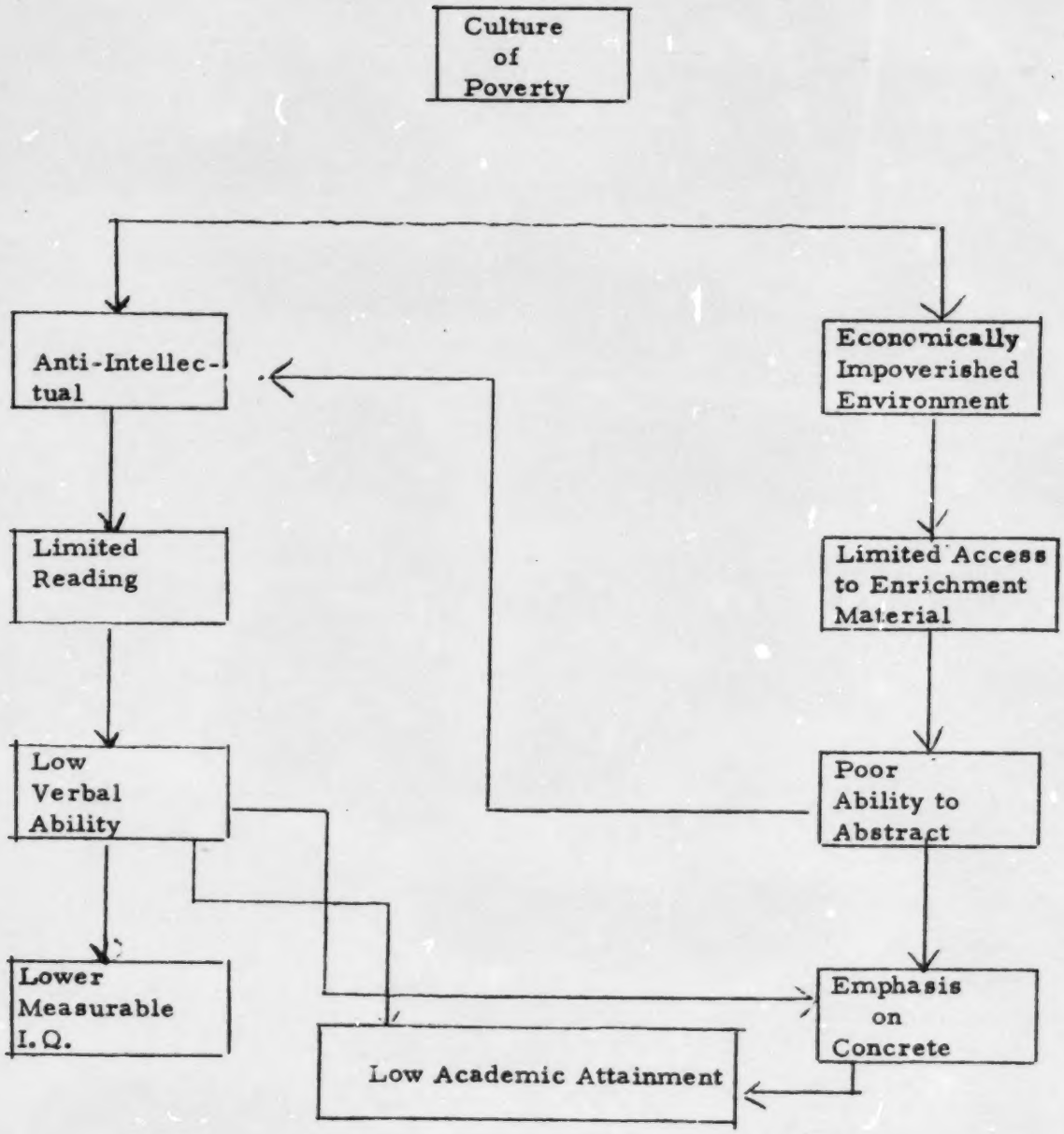
The intervention strategies that were discussed in the foregoing analysis tended to emphasize the need for: (a) opening up a broad range of opportunities for economic and social mobility (Mobilization for Youth), (b) creating new institutional arrangements tailored to the needs of low-income Blacks (Syracuse Mayor's Commission), and (c) utilizing the indigenous Black ghetto population in self-help efforts to bring about desired change (Economic Opportunity Act). While there were clearly defined differences in the thrust of each individual program or the chosen point of impact, all strategies shared a common framework in which the Black poor were viewed as victims of a socio-economic environment that depressed their real individual potential for achievement.

An effort will be made in this section to translate the selected causal explanations for the change strategies into models based upon John Pfeiffer's discussion of the systems approach in education and the category he defines as the "structural problem." Even though many of the characteristics of the public area problem having a multiplicity of objectives are present in the models, they are still amenable to the "constrained maximization" that Pfeiffer feels is integral to the structural problem.[21]

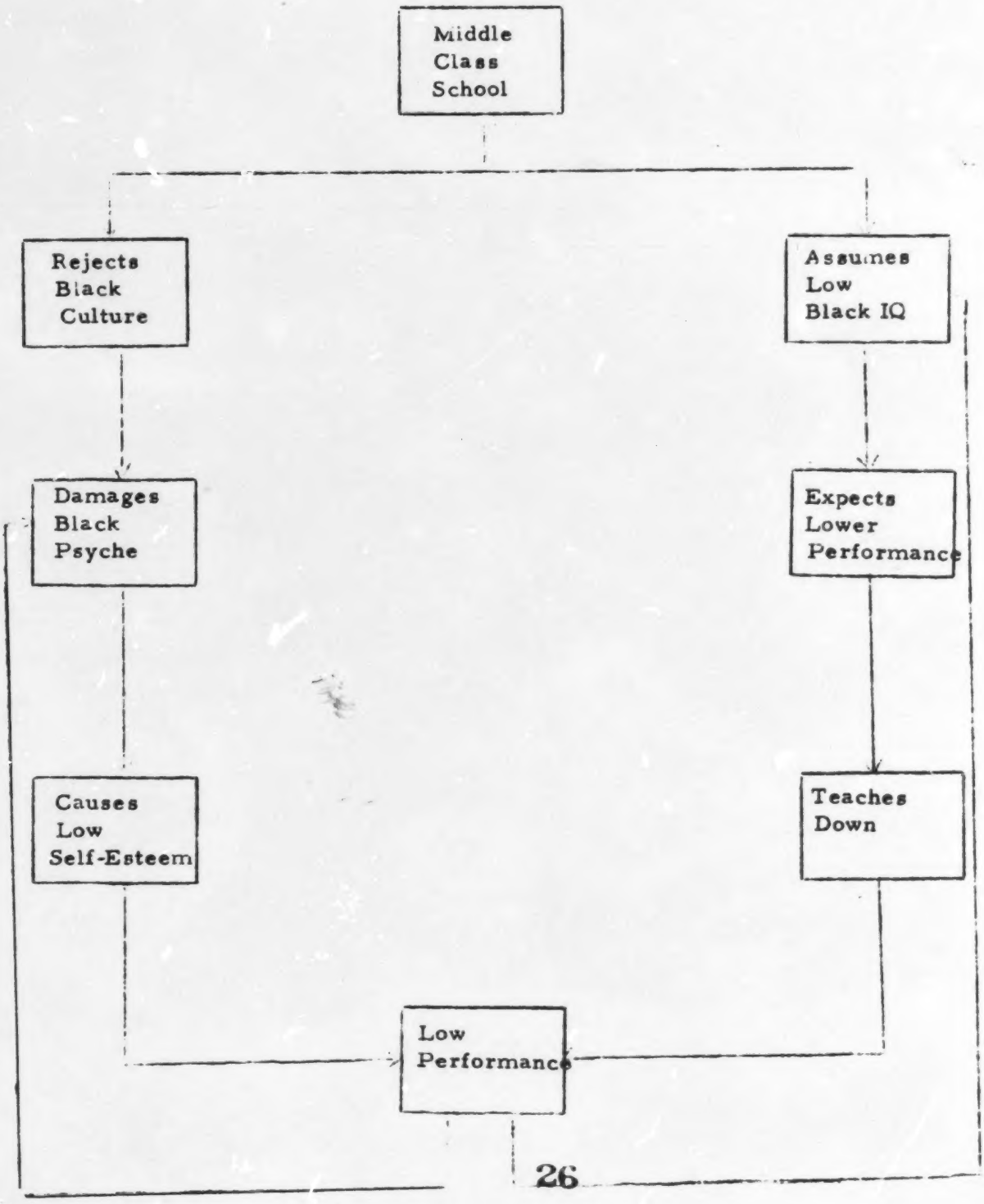
[21] John Pfeiffer, New Look at Education, Systems Analysis in our Schools and Colleges, New York: The Odyssey Press, 1968, page 38.

Inherited Factors (Linear Model)




Culture of Poverty
Anti-Intellectual
Economically Impoverished Environment
Limited Reading
Limited Access to Enrichment Material
Low Verbal Ability
Poor Ability to Abstract
Lower Measurable I.Q.
Emphasis on Concrete
Low Academic Attainment

POSITIVE FEEDBACK
MODEL



Conclusion:

Each of the models listed above suggests a possible model for analyzing the problem of low educational attainment among black population in the urban ghetto. However, systematic analysis and data gathering would be necessary to substantiate one or another of the proposed models. Reliable data would provide the necessary tools for a valid evaluation of the scope and depth of the black educational problem.

The recommendation of the sociologist, Dr. Nathan Goldman, speaks to this issue. He recommends that a bureau of social statistics, patterned after the Census Bureau be created within the federal government with responsibility for data collecting.

Clearly a need exists to collect and organize relevant data on black performance, attitudes, and values about education in order to develop meaningful solutions to the identified problems.

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